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NOVEMBER MEETING, 1895.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting and the list of donors to the Library, the PRESIDENT said:—

At the last meeting of the Society I had occasion to mention the fact that the published record of its Proceedings in no way includes, nor is intended to include, a report of all action taken at its meetings. In so doing, I alluded to what I then spoke of as the most interesting and important meeting of the Society which had taken place since I became a member of it,—now over twenty years ago,—the entire record of which in our published Proceedings is included in ten printed lines. I referred to the special meeting of January 18, 1877, the record of which is in the following words:—

“A Special Meeting of the Society, called to consider the second recommendation of the committee in relation to applying to the Legislature,—viz. That it is expedient to ask permission of the Legislature to remove all limitations, except such as the Society may fix by its by-laws as to the number of its Resident Members,—was held this day, January 18, at eleven o'clock A. M., the President in the chair. The proposition was debated at length, when, on motion of Mr. Whitmore, the subject was, by a large majority, indefinitely postponed.”

This is, as I have said, the only reference in our printed Proceedings to what may be considered a turning-point in the history of the Society; for it was the final action taken by it on a proposition which looked to a complete change of policy in regard to its membership.

Doubtless it was intentional that this record was made thus brief. It set forth all that was necessary to be set forth of the action of the Society on a matter in regard to which there had been a difference of opinion among its members which in no way concerned the public. Nevertheless, the reasons which dictated this silence and abbreviated record having, through

the lapse of time, passed away, there seems no longer to be any objection to a more detailed reference to what then took place. Such a reference, moreover, especially at this time, may not only be of interest to that great majority of our members who have been since elected, but it may also have a bearing upon the policy as to membership hereafter to be pursued.

In 1877 Mr. Winthrop had for twenty-two years been the President of the Society. During that long period he had infused a new life into it, largely outlining the policy under which it had received development; and his opinion carried, and most properly carried, great weight in the minds of its members, especially those composing the Council. As respects membership, our number in 1877, as now, limited to one hundred, was, under the original charter of 1794, limited to sixty, exclusive of Honorary Members. There is in the third volume of our Proceedings an interesting statement of President Quincy bearing on the reason of this limitation and its subsequent history. Though the statement was made in 1858, Mr. Quincy was chosen a member of the Society in 1796, and was thus practically among its founders. Mr. Quincy said:—

“In the original draught [of a proposed Act of Incorporation made by] the Association before its incorporation, its resident members were restricted to *thirty*; not from any desire of exclusiveness, but as I have heard, if I mistake not, Dr. Belknap, the real founder of the Society, himself say, to compel the Society to choose only men adapted and disposed to become active workers in that field; in order that it should not be tempted to elect members for the sake of bestowing upon them *a feather*, and become puffy and heavy by numbers, without proportionate activity, and power of progress. The number was raised to *sixty* by the Legislature, without, if not contrary to, the wishes of the original associates; at least, so I have always understood. With the number of sixty, the Society labored during more than fifty years, published about thirty volumes, and obtained a character and celebrity which rendered admission into it a subject of desire, especially by those who had congenial historical sympathies. In process of time, men of this class arose in Massachusetts, adapted and disposed to unite in the same labors, extremely desirous to become members of the Society, but into which they could not enter on account of the restriction contained in the Act of Incorporation. Men of this description gradually multiplied. Some of these, who hoped for admission, were disappointed when vacancies occasionally happened, and which were filled by others.

Some of these were said to have had the mortification of being rejected when others were elected."

It was doubtless in recognition of the outside sentiment here alluded to that, on motion of Mr. Savage, the Society had voted, at its March meeting of the previous year (1857), that a committee of three be appointed to apply to the Legislature for such amendment to the charter "as shall permit us to enlarge the number of our resident members, not to exceed one hundred; and to make election of such associate members living without the limits of this State, or of honorary members residing without or within the limits of the Commonwealth, as the Society, in its discretion, may determine."¹

An Act was passed by the Legislature in conformity with this application, and accepted by the Society in amendment of its charter at its next meeting.² Mr. Savage made his motion at the suggestion of Mr. Winthrop, who, then recently made President of the Society, was beginning to shape a policy for it; and Mr. Winthrop was at the head of the Committee which procured the passage of the amendment by the Legislature.

This amendment of its charter, and the consequent increase in the membership of the Society, indicated, therefore, a policy to which Mr. Winthrop inclined. He was disposed to make the Society stronger and more popular—to liberalize, as he probably would have expressed it—through an enlargement from time to time of its membership. In adopting this course, too, the Society would have pursued the policy generally pursued by similar societies throughout the United States. The argument in favor of it was obvious: by pursuing such a policy a certain degree of invidiousness would be removed which necessarily attached, especially in this country, to all societies limited in membership; and, moreover, it would have a tendency to discourage the formation of other societies of like character, which, in matters of collection, etc., would naturally come somewhat in conflict with the original Society. For nearly twenty years the Society moved along under the Act of 1857; but Mr. Winthrop then thought the time had come for yet another step in the direction of a larger membership.

¹ Proceedings, Vol. III. pp. 154, 155.

² Twenty-eight new names were added to the Resident roll from May, 1857, to March, 1859, inclusive.

The matter was discussed, *pro* and *con*, in the Council; and at the Annual (April) Meeting of 1876 Mr. Robert M. Mason, in his report on behalf of the Council, introduced a paragraph to the effect that it might be "worthy of inquiry, whether, to promote the prosperity and increase the usefulness and reputation of this Society in the special branch of investigation in which it is engaged, an addition of members would not be an efficient means to that desirable end. The claims of a growing and educated community call on us not jealously to limit the advantages we enjoy, but rather to extend our privileges by a judicious selection of new members." This question was referred to a special committee of three to consider and report. The Committee consisted of Governor Emory Washburn, Judge E. R. Hoar, and Mr. Ellis Ames. It reported at the December meeting of the Society; and the second clause in its report was in the following words: "Voted, That it is expedient to ask permission of the Legislature to remove all limitation, except such as the Society may fix by its By-Laws as to the number of its Resident Members."

The meeting at which the matter was thus brought to the attention of the Society was of the usual character, and the attendance was limited. I was not among those present, and can therefore give no recollections of it; but doubtless several of those here this afternoon were also at that meeting, and remember more or less distinctly what took place. The printed Proceedings merely state that, on the question relative to the increase of the Resident Members, "there seemed to be a difference of opinion." So action was postponed to the next stated meeting of the Society, and the Secretary was ordered to notify the members that the question would then be acted on. At the stated meeting, that of January 11, 1877, our associate John T. Morse, Jr., was chosen into the Society. His name now stands twenty-seventh on our roll. It would accordingly appear that of our present membership of 93, no less than 66 have been chosen since the events of which I am speaking took place.

At this meeting the attendance was comparatively large, numbering forty; and among those who did attend was James Russell Lowell, who took a decided stand against the proposed change. I was again absent, and of this meeting also must depend upon others to speak. The printed report in our Pro-

ceedings simply tells us that the subject was debated at length. Finally, on the motion, I think, of Mr. Lowell, further consideration of the matter was postponed to a special meeting, to be called one week later; and in the notices of it the Secretary was instructed to designate the object for which the meeting was called. This special meeting of January 18, 1877, was, as I have already said, the largest and most interesting meeting the Society has held since I have been a member; and I think also it was the largest and most interesting meeting which has been held within the memory of any living member. The printed Proceedings do not give the names of those present, but they are recorded in the manuscript minutes of the Secretary to the number of forty-eight. I remember well that they filled this room, and overflowed into the library outside. All the more prominent members seemed to be on hand. Mr. Winthrop occupied the chair. The debate opened with a motion, by Mr. Whitmore, that the further consideration of the proposition be indefinitely postponed. On this the discussion took place. Remarks in opposition to the proposed change were made by James Russell Lowell, who dwelt upon the exceptional position occupied by this Society, and upon the extreme inadvisability of breaking down the barriers and entering it among all similar organizations in the race for popularity. He believed in holding it high. Dr. Ellis spoke to the same effect; while our associate Mr. C. C. Smith followed in a carefully prepared paper. The spirit of the meeting was unmistakable; and it was also apparent not only that the Council was divided, but that a very considerable portion of those who gave their assent to the proposed change did so out of deference to Mr. Winthrop, and an unwillingness to oppose any policy in regard to the Society which met his approval.

The report and recommendation of the Committee were vigorously supported by Judge Hoar. Governor Washburn was not present. He died only a little more than two months later, and was already in failing health. In his absence, Judge Hoar took the broad ground, in opposition to Mr. Lowell, that an Historical Society was but the association of a number of persons interested in a common pursuit, and that, to further its purpose, it should be made as open to all as conditions permitted. His remarks bore that stamp of shrewd, aggres-

sive sense and humor which characterized them always, whether delivered from the bench, at the bar, or from the floor. Mr. Winthrop closed the discussion with a carefully prepared paper, which he read from the chair. In it he argued the whole question, strongly advocating the proposed change on grounds of expediency, the allaying of invidious feelings and the removal of hostilities, the difficulties attending a limited selection, and, finally, financial exigencies. The vote was then taken, and was decisive of the feelings of the members of the Society. A number, out of deference to Mr. Winthrop, abstained from voting. Of those who did vote on the show of hands, thirty-one voted for indefinite postponement to eleven against it. The matter was thus finally disposed of. Since that time no proposition for a change in the membership of the Society has been considered.

There was one incident in the proceedings of that day which impressed itself much upon me at the time, and in a most pleasant way. In the Council and among those most deeply concerned in the welfare of the Society, there had, apparently, been a wide divergence of opinion. On this point I cannot speak from personal knowledge; but of those now living and present to-day, Dr. Green and Mr. Appleton were of the Council, and Mr. C. C. Smith stood that year third on the Standing Committee. They, therefore, can set me right if I have indulged in any unwarranted surmises. My impression, however, — derived, I will add, largely from my father, who was then the first Vice-President of the Society and concurred in the views of its President, — my impression, I say, is that with Mr. Winthrop an increase in the membership — the liberalization of the Society, so to speak — had been almost fundamental; and I think I do not go too far in saying that at the time he considered that the lines of development which, as President, he had laid down for the Society, had by this action been interfered with at a vital point. Dr. Ellis — the successor of Mr. Winthrop as President, and then one of the Standing Committee — had taken a wholly different view of the matter, which, I presume, he had expressed in the discussions which had taken place both in the Council and in private. In any event, I remember, when the meeting broke up and the members were departing from the room, Dr. Ellis approached Mr. Winthrop as he left the chair, and, in a man-

ner almost deprecatory, expressed the earnest hope that whatever difference of opinion had taken place on this subject might leave no trace of bitterness behind. I well remember it, because of the gracious manner in which Mr. Winthrop received his advances. He bore his defeat in a thoroughly characteristic and high-toned manner; immediately accepting Dr. Ellis's proffered hand, he put aside the suggestion he had made as something not for a moment to be considered. There was a graceful courtesy in his action which strongly impressed me; for I was one of those who had come there that day, contrary to my usual custom, in order to oppose the change of policy he had so strongly advocated.

This action was had January 18, 1877. Curiously enough, it was almost an exact repetition of the similar action of the Society on the same subject on two previous occasions, — the first precisely thirty-one years before, on the 29th of January, 1846. Mr. Savage was then President; and at the December meeting of 1845, on his motion, the Standing Committee was instructed to report on "the expediency of applying to the Legislature for an alteration of the charter, so as to allow an increase in the number of members," at that time limited to sixty. Mr. Francis C. Gray was chairman of the Standing Committee as then organized, and accordingly, at the next meeting of the Society (January 1, 1846), a report signed by him was submitted, to the effect that the Committee were "of opinion that it is expedient to apply to the Legislature for an act repealing" so much of the charter as limited the membership, "and authorizing the Society to regulate, from time to time, the number of its members by its own By-Laws." This report, apparently, was submitted through the President, as the name of Mr. Gray does not appear among those of the thirteen members recorded as present. Mr. Ticknor, another member of the Committee, was likewise absent. The consideration of the report was referred to the next meeting, and the Recording Secretary was directed to give notice that the subject would then be considered. At this next meeting (January 29, 1846) twenty-five members were present, including both Mr. Gray and Mr. Ticknor. Dr. Paige alone of our associates now living attended that day, and he is not here to give us his recollections of the discussion which took place; but I have understood that Mr. Ticknor was very adverse to

the proposed change. If such was the case, considering the characteristics of the two men, the discussion between him and Mr. Savage, who now apparently advocated the increase, was not improbably marked with animation. On this point, however, the record, like that of the meeting of 1877, is discreetly silent; it simply states that the report "was taken up, and, after discussion, was rejected."

The other occasion was on the 10th of May, 1855. It was at this meeting that Mr. Winthrop took the chair for the first time after his election to the Presidency of the Society. The record is again brief; in my judgment much too brief, for it fails to inform us of what actually took place,—presumably the object of a record. It merely says that a committee was appointed to make application to the Legislature for an amendment to the charter to admit of holding property to an increased amount. In the diary of my father, however, I have come across the following passage relating to this occasion:—

"*Thursday, 10 May, 1855.* The monthly meeting of the Historical Society. Mr. Winthrop, elected to the President's place at the last meeting, in the chair, which he fills very well. A discussion took place upon a report of the Standing Committee in regard to printing interesting proceedings. . . . Another matter created a little more feeling. The Standing Committee, finding that the Appleton Fund exceeded in nominal amount the limit of personal property which the Society is allowed by its charter to hold, proposed an application to the Legislature for an amendment enlarging the sum to one hundred thousand dollars. At the same time, they joined with it a proposal to increase the number of members from sixty to a hundred. This raised quite a breeze and brought out Mr. Savage, Mr. Ticknor, and others, deprecating haste in this enlargement. . . . It was evident that Mr. Winthrop himself had favored the amendment, but he could not stem the tide. So by a large majority they struck out the second clause, postponing the consideration of it until next year. I sat a silent and not unamused witness of all this commotion."

I am unable to account for the action of Mr. Savage at this meeting, in view of the fact that he had himself moved a vote looking to a similar increase nine years before. Under Mr. Winthrop's skilful handling he seems, however, now to have undergone a rapid change of heart, as it was he who ten months later, as we have seen, moved the vote of March, 1857,

which led to the change of that year. In my father's diary I find two rather amusing entries bearing on this point, which I insert: —

"*Thursday, 12 March, 1857.* Attended an evening meeting of the Historical Society at Mr. Winthrop's house. A large number attended. . . . A resolution offered by Mr. Savage to apply to the General Court for an enlargement of the number of members so as to have an hundred. This coming from him was strange, as he had been the one who showed himself most vehemently opposed to it not long ago. It passed with only a few dissenting votes."

"*Thursday, 9 April, 1857.* Attended the annual meeting of the Historical Society for the election of officers. A very large attendance, and it was quite evident that we were to have another show day. The rooms were now in order. After the usual and regular order of business Dr. Robbins on the part of the Standing Committee made a report of his doings in regard to the fitting up of the Dowse Library under the provision made for it by the executors of Mr. Dowse. He then surrendered the key to the Executors, Mr. Livermore and Mr. Dale, who were both present, and the former then presented it to the President. He proceeded to open the door and we walked in and took possession of the room, very handsomely fitted up. Mr. Winthrop then delivered an oration reviewing the progress of the Society. . . . But under Mr. Winthrop it has certainly assumed an entirely new phase. Nobody would recognize, in this Dowse library, the dirty, ordinary, ill-kept and poor provisioned room in which it used to hold very small and very dull monthly meetings. It is now rich, comparatively, and a great deal more active, at least in appearance. The last provision of an increase of members to the number of forty more will probably contribute further to change its character."

But, returning to the course of events which preceded the 1857 alteration of the original charter, and the consequent increase in membership from sixty to one hundred here referred to, it appears that this change was effected only in face of decided opposition, and that both in January, 1846, and in May, 1855, movements of a similar character, which had originated with the Presidents at those respective times and been favorably reported by the Standing Committees, failed decisively to obtain the approval of the Society at large. Finally, the increase of 1857 was carried through the influence of Mr. Winthrop at the time of the opening of the Dowse Library, in recognition of the increased life and activity he had then already infused into the organization.

But the question of enlarged or limited membership, though thus, so far as our Society is concerned, decisively, and, it may be assumed, finally disposed of through the action of the meeting of January 18, 1877, is one still not without interest, and much, it must be admitted, may be said on both sides. On the side of popular membership it was then argued by Mr. Winthrop, as it might now be argued, that freely to increase the numbers of the Society tended to prevent an always undesirable waste of force; that is, with a society of the nature of ours, strictly limited in number, it is inevitable that other, and to a certain extent competing, societies will from time to time spring up. Such, indeed, has been the case; for here in Boston we now have no less than four societies, the basis of all of which is historical research and the accumulation of historical material; and the four might well be concentrated in one. First came the New England Historic-Genealogical Society; then, later, the Bostonian Society; and finally, only a few years ago, the Colonial Society. It might well be argued that, if the membership of these societies had been concentrated in one, there would have been a great economy of financial strength, and collections now scattered would be brought under one roof. All this is true. It constituted the basis of Mr. Winthrop's argument, and it also represents the policy which has been successfully pursued by similar societies in other parts of the Union.

On the other hand, the feeling among the members then was, as I presume it still is, that the advantages and prestige derived from the limited membership of this Society far exceeded any injury it caused. In the first place, it must be admitted that the tendency to popularize, or, it might even be said, to democratize learned societies, has not been without its disadvantages. Altogether too frequently have we seen, of late years, societies which ought to convey a distinction through election into them degraded into organizations actually drumming, so to speak, for members; while yet others, with sounding names, have made the selling of their diplomas a source of revenue. To such an extent has this been carried that I think I am speaking within bounds when I say there is hardly to-day, with the exception of this and a few others which might possibly be named, a learned Society in the United States an election to which is regarded as a distinc-

tion. We have, for instance, nothing in America at all corresponding to the Royal Society, and much less to the French Academy. Under such circumstances, that one organization should distinctly move counter to the stream may be far from an undesirable thing. Such has always been the case with the Massachusetts Historical Society. Its theatre has been limited, but it has held itself high.

But if this is the course and policy which the Society has definitely assumed,—if this is the standard it sets before itself,—perhaps it might be well to suggest that it should be so recognized, and logically carried out to its definite results. If the membership of our Society is to be limited, the candidacy of any one whose name is presented for membership should be carefully scrutinized.

* * * * *

For myself, accordingly, I frankly admit that I welcome every instance where a member rises and questions the propriety of electing any person proposed by the Council as a candidate. * * * On the other hand, I see no reason why, in filling our membership, we should strictly limit ourselves to those who are interested, and much less to those who are directly engaged in, pursuits of an historical nature. On the contrary, I see every reason why our ranks should be strengthened by the admission of any person in the Commonwealth who has attained eminence in any literary or associated field. In this respect my sympathies are entirely with the views which I remember were expressed by Mr. Winthrop, who wished to have the Society include in its membership all men of mark within the Commonwealth who have attained distinction in letters, as investigators, as scientific men, as professional men, or even who, through wealth and standing and inclination, occupy the position of a patron, or, as he expressed it, of a Mæcenas. In my judgment the only thing we should distinctly avoid is degenerating into a mutual admiration society, or a mere coterie of antiquarians.

Nor, it will be remembered, are these principles of selection peculiar to me or now first enunciated. They are, on the contrary, those upon which the Society has practically acted for nearly fifty years, and they were not long since (1892) formulated as follows,¹ and adopted by the Council as rules for guidance:—

¹ See 2 Proceedings, vol. vii. pp. 332-335.

"1. That in the election of Resident Members in future, regard be first paid to the matter of proper geographical representation to the extent [indicated in the report then made];

"2. That the eminence of candidates, either as historical students and writers, or as authorities in matters connected with history, be next considered; while, finally,

"3. The list should be filled by a careful selection from those who on general grounds, whether of high public office or of professional or social eminence, merit recognition, and in return would add value and dignity to membership in the Society."

The principle of limitation which by law exists in respect to our Resident Membership has been extended by the voluntary action of the Society to our Honorary and Corresponding lists; for by the amended By-Laws adopted in December, 1888,¹ it is provided that the number of Corresponding Members shall never exceed the number of Resident Members; and the number of Honorary Members shall never exceed twenty, of whom at least one half shall be citizens of foreign countries. Even the limitations thus fixed have been practically still further contracted; for it has of late years been the established practice of the Council to make no nominations for Corresponding Membership in excess of fifty, or for Honorary Membership in excess of ten. This rule, also, was agreed upon after full consideration, and in pursuance of a policy recommended in a formal report which is upon the files of the Council. Nearly thirty-seven years ago, in April, 1859, the Standing Committee reported that the whole number of Honorary, Corresponding, and Resident Members was one hundred and ninety-one; it is now one hundred and forty-nine.

The policy of the Society as respects its membership has, therefore, especially of late, been distinctly conservative, and even reactionary. And the reason is obvious. It has been more and more felt that an election to either the Corresponding or the Honorary list, and much more to the Resident list, should signify something,—it should be in the nature of a diploma or decoration. That it should be such,—and so held,—it must be jealously guarded. It should not be conferred freely, or without careful consideration. * * * And now it might still further be matter for consideration, whether our Corresponding list of fifty should not, as matter of usage,

¹ 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 222.

include the names of all citizens of the United States placed upon our rolls; while the Honorary list of ten should be devoted exclusively to foreigners.

In our Resident roll there are now seven vacancies. * * * Each name on our roll should carry with it at once to the minds of all of us, or at least to the better informed amongst us, the reason why it is there. That our charter number should be full is of little consequence. It might without injury be allowed to drop to seventy-five, or even to the former limit of sixty. That this should happen would be to us of little importance compared with the prestige which would inure to the Society should it be generally recognized that election to it carried in the public estimation a consideration at least equal to that which is conferred by Harvard University when it bestows its honorary degrees.¹

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR communicated the following paper on the earliest printed books (English and Indian) connected with the aborigines of New England, 1630-1700:—

In a paper on "The Earliest Printed Sources of New England History, 1602-1629," printed in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for November, 1894, and also separately, I enumerated ten writers of that interval who published fourteen books or tracts which, to a greater or less degree, constitute sources of Indian history for this region anterior to those I now intend to consider. After the coming of Winthrop in 1630 and the founding of a larger Commonwealth, wars on the borders and missions became important means by which Indian life and character affected the existence of the settlers in New England. It is the purpose of this paper to survey the publications of the remaining years of the seventeenth century, and to indicate the extent to which their contemporary issues are available to the student of Indian history and character, while at the same time I mark their rarity and the consequent competition of collectors for them. This is a study which makes no note of contemporary manuscript sources, nor of later issues in print, except

¹ Certain portions of this paper, as originally prepared and read by him to the Society, were, by direction of Mr. Adams, omitted in printing. The omissions are indicated by asterisks. The complete paper is preserved, and can be consulted, in the files of the Society.

reprints, nor of those in other languages than English and Indian, nor indeed of most of those contemporary publications in which the references to the natives are trivial and of no use to the historian.

We are met at the start by a little group of tracts, which are of the first importance in the study of the early settlers about Boston Bay, portraying their movements and purposes, and conducing by their exposition of the character of the country to help on the colonization of it. They naturally throw more or less light upon the condition of the Indians, as these pioneers learned to know them.

The "New Englands Plantation, or a short and true description of the Commodities and discommodities of that Country" (July-September, 1629), of Francis Higginson (or Higgeson, as the second edition calls him) went through three distinct editions in 1630 at London. This little tract has risen in value from eighteen shillings, as priced by Rich sixty years ago, to \$195, which was obtained at the Ives sale. A not very good copy of the third edition was priced not long since at £12. All three editions are in the Lenox Library, and two are in the Harvard and Carter-Brown libraries. Two were sold in the Crowninshield Collection (Nos. 524, 525, — one of them having been used by Dr. Young), and two in the Barlow Collection (Nos. 1147, 1148), — being the first and third editions, one of which passed to the Boston Public Library. There were single editions in the Menzies (No. 927), Murphy (No. 1230), and Brinley (No. 312) collections; and there is one in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Quaritch offered a copy in his American Exhibit in 1890 (No. 401), but put no price upon it. It is reprinted in Force's "Tracts"; in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. i.; and in Young's "Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay."

While Winthrop and his friends were at Southampton, taking their farewell, John Cotton preached a sermon to them, which was printed as "God's Promise to his Plantation" (London, 1630), in which some advice was given to the settlers respecting their treatment of the Indians. This first edition is in the Lenox Library, and was in the Brinley sale (Nos. 542, 2634), and is worth about £7 or £8. A London reprint in 1634 is in the Prince Collection (Boston Public Library), and another

copy was sold at the Barlow sale (No. 650). The Boston reprint of 1686 is in the Prince Library, and there were two copies in the Brinley sale (Nos. 744, 1686).

John White's "Planter's Plea" was printed in London in 1630, shortly after the sailing of Winthrop. It portrays the preparation which had been made by the pioneers for the new emigration. It seems to have escaped the attention of New England writers till Dr. Young, in 1846, made citations from it in his "Chronicles of Massachusetts," using for this purpose a copy which had belonged to Increase Mather. It has proved, however, a book much easier to find than Higginson's "Plantation," though copies which have since come to light have brought such prices as £13 10s., £17 10s., \$115, and \$120. These last two sums were obtained for the Ives and Barlow copies, the latter passing to the Boston Public Library. I know two other copies in public collections, — the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library and the Lenox Library, — and there is another in the British Museum. It is in the private Carter-Brown and Charles Deane collections, and has been sold since Dr. Young's time in the Crowninshield (No. 744), Murphy (No. 2718), and Brinley (Nos. 373, 2704) sales. Dodd, Mead, & Co. have offered a copy recently at \$150. It is reprinted in Force's Tracts, vol. ii.

John Smith, in his "Advertisements for the unexperienced planters of New England," London, 1631, professed to give "the yearly proceedings of this Country in fishing and planting since the yeare 1614 to the yeare 1630 and their present estate." The book is so rare that Brinley and Cooke contented themselves with the Boston reprint of 1865; but copies were sold in the Barlow (No. 324) and Murphy sales (No. 2313), and Quaritch offered one in his American Exhibit. There are two copies in the British Museum. Other copies are in the Harvard, Charles Deane, and Carter-Brown collections.

The last of this little group is William Wood's "New Englands Prospect," which includes a short list (5 pp.) of Indian names of sachems, months, days, rivers, etc. The book is described in the full title as "discovering the state of that Country, both as it stands to our new-come English planters and to the old native inhabitants." It is found in three editions, — 1634, 1635, and 1639. In one or another of these issues it

is not a very rare book. The British Museum has three copies of the first edition, two of the second, and one of the third. In Rich's day it ranged in price from a pound to twenty-eight shillings; but in recent years it has brought, in some one of the editions, any sum from \$100 to \$375. That of 1634 is surer to bring the highest price. It has been sold in the Griswold (No. 970), Brinley (three copies of the second edition, Nos. 377-381, and 2713), Murphy (the first edition, No. 2760), Menzies (the second edition, No. 2187), and Barlow (first and second editions) sales. The Lenox and Carter-Brown libraries have all three editions; the Boston Public Library has the first and second (Prince and Barlow copies). The folding wood-cut map of "the south part of New England," which is dated 1634 in the first edition, and 1635 in the second, has the date 1639 in the third. The Congressional, Massachusetts Historical Society, and Harvard libraries have each the second edition; and the Boston Athenæum has the third. Mr. Deane used his own copy in the Prince Society reprint of the book. It has lately been priced by Muller of Amsterdam at 300 florins; and a copy of the 1635 edition, with some defects supplied in fac-simile, has recently been offered in New York for \$60.

The Pequot War, which came two or three years later, gave the London printers occasion to put their imprint upon two interesting little tracts. One of them, Philip Vincent's "True Relation of the late Battell fought in New England," was printed in 1637, though some copies have the date 1638; and one of these last is in the Boston Public Library. The only copies of the original date, which I have noted, are in the Lenox and Carter-Brown libraries; but of the reissue of the next year (1638) there are copies in the Lenox, Carter-Brown, and Boston public libraries. There was a second edition in 1638, and of this the Prince copy is in the Boston Public Library, but it is not quite perfect; a better copy is that belonging to Harvard College. A third copy is in the Carter-Brown Collection. It has been sold in the last thirty-five years in the Crowninshield (No. 766), Murphy (No. 2622), and Barlow (No. 2574) sales, and perhaps in others. Vincent probably got his information from an actor in the scenes. His account is reprinted in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. xxvi.

The companion tract, by Captain John Underhill, "Newes from America, or a new and experimentall discoverie of New England; containing a true relation of their warlike proceedings these two yeares last past, with a figure of the indian fort or Palisado," 1638, is nearly as rare; and the engraved plan of the fight is sometimes lacking in the few copies which are known. It early attracted the attention of Rich, and there is a copy in the British Museum. There is an uncut copy with the original plan in the Lenox Library. Later sales are in the Crowninshield (No. 1064), where the map was given in a pen fac-simile; and the Barlow copy (No. 2507) was supplied with a modern reproduction of the plan, when it passed into the Boston Public Library, which has also the Lewis copy. There are copies in the Harvard, Carter-Brown, and Deane collections; and it was sold in the Brinley sale (No. 416). It has been recently priced, with the plate in fac-simile, at £26 5s.

Underhill commanded the Massachusetts forces, and was an eyewitness of much which he describes. His tract is reprinted in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. xxvi. A photo-reprint by Hyatt was issued in London in 1891, in 200 copies.

Another contemporary account by Captain Mason—the best of all the narratives—was not printed separately till 1736, by Thomas Prince (who used Gardiner's manuscript), though Increase Mather, in his "Relation of the Troubles," etc., 1677, later to be mentioned, had printed it, thinking it to be the composition of Secretary Allyn of Connecticut. At the same time Mather printed another narrative by an actor in the scenes, Lyon Gardiner, which has been reproduced in Curtiss C. Gardiner's "Papers and Biography of Lion Gardiner" (St. Louis, 1883); in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. xxiii., and in Dodge's edition of Penhallow's "Indian Wars," Cincinnati, 1859. Mason's account has been also reprinted in "The Mohegan Case," 1769; in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. xviii.; and separately by Sabin of New York, in 1869.

The "Plain Dealing or Nevves from New-England," of Thomas Lechford, London, 1642, was the work of an English lawyer for some years resident in Boston. It is a book of peculiar value, and of a character not usual among the early

chroniclers. It is the work of a looker-on, who did not indeed sympathize with the puritan spirit, but who saw with both eyes, and was not over-prone to see more than could be seen, in the comparisons which he makes of old-country ways with those of the new colony. He says of his book that it is "A short view of New England's present government, both Ecclesiasticall and Civil, compared with the anciently-received and established Government of England, in some materiall points; fit for the gravest consideration in these times." He gives a chapter to the Indians. The book is one not difficult to find upon persistent search; but from a variety of condition, binding, and competition, it is apt to bring prices that are somewhat capricious. The usual quotations range from five to eighteen guineas; but exceptional copies of late years have gone as high as £35, and even higher. Recent prices in America have been \$60, \$75, \$90, and \$110; but three copies in the Aspinwall sale in 1879 fell to \$41, and lower. There were two copies in the Murphy sale (Nos. 1453, 2974, — one imperfect); a fine one in the Barlow (No. 1453); and another in the Menzies (No. 1202) sale. The copy in the Brinley (No. 322) was the one used by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull in making his reprint, Boston, 1867. There are accessible copies in the Harvard (the Ebeling copy — at one time considered unique), Lenox, and New York Historical Society libraries. It is also in the Carter-Brown and Charles Deane collections. There are two copies in the British Museum. The first edition was reprinted in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. xxiii., and separately at Boston in 1867, edited by J. H. Trumbull.

A reissue in 1644, with a new title, "New England's Advice to Old England," is much more rare. Trumbull in 1867 had never seen a copy, and he was forced to take the authority of Watt and Lowndes for its existence. It is in the Carter-Brown Collection, and in the Lenox Library, the latter being the copy that was sold in the Barlow sale (No. 1435). Besides the copy in the British Museum, I know of no other. Lechford's "Note-Book kept in Boston, 1638-1641," and first printed by the American Antiquarian Society in 1885, has some references to transactions with the natives for lands.

The Brinley Catalogue (No. 754) shows one of five hundred impressions of a paper signed by Governor Winthrop, on behalf

of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, printed at Cambridge in 1645, and called "A Declaration of former passages and proceedings betwixt the English and Narrowgansets." This copy, now in the Lenox Library, was found by Henry Stevens and offered to Mr. Lenox and to Mr. Carter-Brown, before Brinley accepted it. Hutchinson reprints it, but from manuscript, never having seen the print. Drake, with all his interest and assiduity in Indian researches, never saw a copy. It sold in the Brinley sale for \$218, more than four times as much as that collector gave for it. Another copy is in the Kalbfleisch Collection. The only other copy, which I have noted, is that given in Dr. S. A. Green's "Early American Imprints," being the copy belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society, which is indorsed in Winthrop's handwriting, "Relation about Narogansets & Miantinomo, and the discovery of their plott agt. the English." Dr. Green makes reference to more or less accurate reprints.

There were two general histories printed after the middle of the century, which throw light upon the Indians and their wars with the whites. Edward Johnson's "History of New England," or, as it is usually cited from its running-title, "The Wonder working Providence of Zion's Saviour in New England, 1628-1652," was printed in London in 1654. I have rarely found good copies of late years priced in England at less than fourteen guineas, and sometimes they are quoted at £20. Quaritch has priced White-Kennett's copy at £25. Prices in this country have been of late at \$110 in the Ives sale, \$115 in the Barlow (No. 1331), \$150 in the Brinley (Nos. 314, 314*) for two copies with small defects. There were two copies in the Crowninshield sale (Nos. 573, 574) in 1859, and one in the Murphy (No. 1356) in 1883. Good copies are usually priced by dealers nowadays at from \$100 to \$125; one was lately held by a New York dealer at the latter price.

Accessible copies are in the Boston Public, Harvard, American Antiquarian Society, Brown University, and Lenox libraries; and in the private collections of Charles Deane, Edward J. Young, and in the Carter-Brown Library.

Johnson's work was reprinted as "A True history of the Originall Undertakings," etc., and ascribed to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in making Part III. of the collection known as the

younger Gorges' "America Painted to the Life," issued in London in 1658-1659. Ferdinando Gorges, however, disclaimed the authorship of it, by public advertisement, charging the responsibility of its insertion in the series on its publisher. This work commands higher prices than the earlier separate issue. I have seen English citations of late years at £60, £63, and £72. Quaritch had a copy in his American exhibit priced at \$300. The Ives copy (No. 373) brought \$310 in 1890; the Menzies (No. 816), \$200. One of the Brinley copies (No. 308) fetched \$225, having once belonged to Thomas Prince; and another copy (No. 2640) was slightly defective. There were copies in the Murphy (No. 1072) and Cooke (No. 1040) sales; and that in the Barlow Collection (No. 1028) passed to the Boston Public Library. There are other accessible copies in the Harvard, American Antiquarian Society, and Lenox libraries, and still others in the Charles Deane and Carter-Brown collections.

The other general narrative was Nathaniel Morton's "New England's Memoriall," printed at Cambridge in 1669,—the earliest strictly historical publication of the New England press. It was founded largely upon Governor Bradford's history of Plymouth Colony, and since that manuscript was discovered and printed forty years ago, Morton's book has lost much of its importance to the scholar; but it still maintains a high price. The English citations of late are from £24 to £55. Quaritch priced a copy sent to this country at \$150; the Ives copy brought \$205, and it has been held by Dodd, Mead, & Co. at \$275. In the Crowninshield (No. 723) sale was the copy which had been used by Judge John Davis, the modern editor of the book. There were copies in the Brinley (No. 827), Murphy (Nos. 1728, 1729), Cooke (No. 1761), and Barlow (No. 1719) sales. The Prince copy is in the Boston Public Library; that of Henry M. Dexter is in the Yale Library, and copies are also in the Lenox and Harvard libraries. There are other copies belonging to the collections of Charles Deane and Carter-Brown; and one belongs to Mr. Edward J. Young, which was used by his father, Alexander Young, in his "Chronicles of the Pilgrims." Later editions of Morton were issued at Boston in 1721, at Newport in 1772, at Plymouth in 1826 (Judge Davis, editor), and again at Boston in 1855.

Wood, in his "New Englands Prospect," in 1634, had printed "a small nomenclator," or vocabulary, of some words of the Indian tongue; but no serious attempt was made to give the native language shape, till Roger Williams published his "Key into the Language of America" in 1643, to save what he had acquired of the native vocabulary, while he added some account of the natives and their surroundings. We find the volume priced as early as 1783 at four shillings and sixpence, and in 1813 at four shillings. When the Rhode Island Historical Society in 1827 reprinted the "Key," they did so from a manuscript copy of the book owned by the Bodleian Library; but they were enabled to correct the proofs by a copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library, then and for a long time considered unique in this country. An increased interest in the book has brought perhaps a score of copies to notice. The price has risen, and we now find it quoted anywhere from £40 to £50 in England, and in this country the quotations have ranged from \$50 to \$150, as paid at the Ives sale; while Quaritch offered a copy here in 1891 at \$225. I have further noted it in the following sales: Field (No. 2560), Murphy (No. 2736), Brinley (Nos. 2380, 5679), and Barlow (No. 2674). This last copy passed to the Boston Public Library; and there are other accessible copies in the Harvard, Boston Athenæum, Massachusetts Historical Society, American Antiquarian Society, Brown University, and Congressional libraries. There are two copies in the Lenox; and it is also in the Bodleian and British Museum libraries, as well as in the private collections of Dr. Trumbull and Carter-Brown.

Lechford in 1641 had complained that "there had not been any sent forth by any church to learne the natives' language or to instruct them in religion," — a confession that Baylie the Presbyterian cites, in his "Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time" (London, 1645), to show how the Independents were "neglectful of the work of conversion." Baylie was answered on this point by John Cotton, in his "Way of the Congregational Churches cleared." The movement of evangelizing the Indians had however begun, and record was first made of it in the "New England's First Fruits," London, 1643, which was the precursor of the series of narratives, issued in small quarto shape, known as the "Eliot Tracts." This contemporary col-

lection is devoted to chronicling the progress of missionary work among the Indians. The series has long been recognized as of importance to a New England library, and early attracted the attention of collectors. Rich in 1832 collected and priced a large part of them. They fill their place in the bibliographies of Sabin, Dexter, and Field, and they are found in the collections of Brinley, Menzies, and Carter-Brown. We now consider them in the order of publication, — seven of the series are reprinted in the Collections (vol. xxiv.) of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

I. "New England's First Fruits," 1643, which is of particular interest as giving the first glimpse which we have of the infant College at Cambridge. This tract is usually priced at from £8 to £15, and if in good condition has brought in this country \$120 (Ives sale), \$130, and even \$180. It has appeared in all the leading sales of the last forty years, — Crowninshield (No. 768); Brinley (Nos. 343, 459, one of them Cotton Mather's copy); Murphy (No. 1772); Menzies (No. 1475); Cooke, (Nos. 1802, 1803, — one of which went to Harvard College); Barlow (No. 1761); Ives; and Livermore (No. 1801). It belongs to the Carter-Brown Collection, and is found in the libraries of Charles Deane of Cambridge, Professor F. G. Peabody of Harvard University, and Alfred T. White of Brooklyn. The Prince copy is in the Boston Public Library; and there are other accessible copies in the Harvard and Lenox libraries. A reprint (250 copies) was published by Joseph Sabin in New York in 1865.

II. The apostle Eliot began to preach in the native tongue in 1646; and a record of this is made, very likely by John Wilson, in "The Day breaking," etc., 1647. This tract has not reached so high a price as the first of the series, and sells in these days for £8 or £10 or \$40 or \$50. I find it in the Crowninshield (No. 769), Griswold (No. 764), Brinley (No. 445), Murphy (No. 2273), Menzies (No. 1815), and Ives sales. The Cooke copy and another are in the Harvard Library; the Barlow in the Boston Public Library; and there are copies in the American Antiquarian Society and Lenox libraries. It is in the Carter-Brown and Charles Deane collections.

III. In Thomas Shepard's "Clear Sunshine," etc., 1648, there is an account of the way in which Eliot extended his

missionary journeys. This tract has been of late priced at from £10 to £20, or their equivalents, and is found in the leading sales, — Crowninshield (No. 770); Griswold (No. 766); Brinley (Nos. 461, 462); O'Callaghan (No. 2105); Murphy (No. 2274); Menzies (No. 1816); Cooke (Nos. 2256, 2257); Barlow (No. 2253); and George Livermore (No. 2147). It is in the Carter-Brown and Charles Deane collections; and accessible copies are found in the Boston Public Library, Boston Athenæum, Harvard College, and Lenox libraries.

While Edward Winslow was in England in 1649, he was instrumental in furthering the incorporation of the "Society for the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians of New England," to meet the interest which the labors of Eliot had created. There are copies of this Act in its original form in the Harvard and Lenox libraries. In the same year Winslow prepared some letters of Eliot relating to his inland journeys to meet the Indians, and, dedicating them to the Parliament, he published these latest advices from the mission field as

IV. "The Glorious Progress of the Gospel," etc., 1649. I find fewer citations of this tract than of its forerunners. It was in the Crowninshield (No. 771), Brinley (No. 452), Murphy (No. 2749), and Cooke (No. 2766) sales. The Carter-Brown and Charles Deane collections have it; and there are copies in the Boston Public (the Barlow copy, No. 847), Lenox, and American Antiquarian Society libraries.

V. Eliot having laid out his Indian town at Natick in 1650, and sent accounts of it to England, the Rev. Henry Whitefield, a New England pastor, then in the old country, prepared the next record, which was published in 1651, as "The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect day." I have not found sales of this exceeding £10 or £12. It is shown in the Crowninshield (No. 772), Brinley (No. 468), Murphy (No. 2720), Menzies (No. 2124), Cooke (No. 2721), and Barlow (No. 2659) sales. It is in the Carter-Brown and Charles Deane collections, and in the American Antiquarian Society, Boston Athenæum, and Harvard and Lenox libraries.

VI. In 1652 appeared "Strength out of Weaknesse, or a Glorious manifestation of the further progresse of the Gospel amongst the Indians of New England," which was published by the Society incorporated in 1649. It is perhaps the commonest of the Eliot Tracts, and covers the apostle's labors

in 1651. There are three varieties of titlepages, and the Carter-Brown, Boston Public, and Lenox libraries have all three; and there was possibly a fourth variety. I find it priced from \$30 to \$105, though the English citations usually run from £6 to £9.

It was in the Crowninshield (No. 773), Brinley (Nos. 464, 465, 466, the three varieties), Murphy (No. 2719), Menzies (No. 2125), Cooke (No. 2722), Barlow (2404, 2405, first and third varieties), and Ives sales. It is in the Charles Deane Collection, and in the following libraries: Harvard College, Massachusetts Historical Society, and Yale College.

There is a very rare reprint under the title, "Banners of Grace and Love," 1657, which is in the Library of Harvard College.

VII. The story of Eliot's efforts to make the Indians "confess before the lord" is in "Tears of Repentence," 1653, in which Mayhew joined to complete the record. I find it priced at £9 and \$80. It appears in the Brinley (No. 446), Murphy (No. 882), Barlow (No. 848), and Ives sales. It is in the Carter-Brown and Charles Deane collections; and accessible to the public in the American Antiquarian Society, Boston Public (Barlow copy), and Lenox libraries.

VIII. Eliot himself now related his recent experiences in "Late and Further Manifestations of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England," London, 1655. This tract seems to be worth about £10 or £12, and is not so often found as the earlier ones. I have noted it only in the Brinley (No. 447), Murphy (No. 881), and Barlow (No. 847) sales. The Charles Deane and Carter-Brown collections have it; and it can be found in the American Antiquarian Society, the Lenox, and Harvard libraries.

IX. Eliot's next tract, "A further Accompt of the progresse of the Gospel," etc., 1659, is one of the rarest of the series, and there is no copy in the Carter-Brown Collection; but Charles Deane had one. It was sold in the Brinley (No. 448), Murphy (No. 1771), and Barlow (No. 849) sales, and is accessible in the Boston Public (Barlow copy), Congressional, Harvard, and Lenox libraries. I note it priced at £24.

It contained a reprint of the first sheet of Abraham Pierson's "Some Help for the Indians," which was at this time in the press in the New England Cambridge. The completed book

by Pierson was published in 1658, by order of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, and in its original form it is thought that only a single copy is known, being in the Lenox Library, and costing Mr. Lenox £12 12s. The British Museum copy has a different titlepage, as shown in Pilling's "Bibliography of the Algonquian Language," p. 396; but the text is the same. No other copies are known. It was reprinted by J. H. Trumbull, with an introduction, in the Connecticut Historical Society's Collections, vol. iii.

X. The next tract, varying slightly in the leading words of the title, "A farther Account of the progresse," etc., was issued in 1660. It gave a narrative of the earliest movement for admitting Indians to church membership. It is one of the rarest of the series, and I think is generally accessible only in the Lenox Library; though it is in the Charles Deane and Carter-Brown collections. It was sold in the Brinley (No. 449), Murphy (No. 880), and Barlow (No. 851) sales.

XI. The last of the series is "A briefe narrative of the progress of the Gospel among the Indians in New England," 1671, — being devoted to the state of the missions and the condition of the praying towns. It is classed among the rarest of the series. Marvin reprinted it in 1868 from a transcript of a copy in the British Museum, and it sold in the Field sale for \$72.50. It was also in the Brinley (No. 450), Murphy (No. 883), and Barlow (No. 853) sales, — the last copy going to the Boston Public Library. There are also copies in the Lenox Library, and in the Carter-Brown and Charles Deane collections. Some of these Eliot Tracts were used in compiling an appendix on the "Gospel's Good Successe in New England," attached to "Of the Conversion of . . . Indians," London, 1650. This is in the Lenox Library.

It was ten years after the earliest record had been made of missions among the Indians in the "First Fruits" (1643), when, under the influence of Eliot, and at the charge of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians, a series of publications in the native tongue was begun. In the study which I am to give to this part of my subject, I find little to add to the material which Mr. Wilberforce Eames of the Lenox Library has given in J. C. Pilling's "Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages" (Washington, 1891).

The earliest of these publications was "A Primer or Catechism in the Indian language," prepared by Eliot, and printed in 1653-1654. There is not a copy of it known; nor of the reissue of 1662, though the edition was a thousand copies. Of the edition of 1669, the only copy known belongs to the University of Glasgow. Eliot is also supposed to have translated the "Assembly's Shorter Catechism"; but no scholar in our time has ever seen it. It is not indeed certain that his version of Perkins' "Six Principles of Religion" was ever printed; but if it was, it is equally unknown to-day. Eliot was at this time at work translating the Bible into Indian, and there is reason to believe that some portions of it, as they were finished and put in type, like the "Book of Genesis" and the "Gospel of Matthew," were issued separately; but no copy of such parts is known. The translator also turned some of the "Psalms" into metre in the native tongue, as he himself mentions; and the Treasurer's account of the Society shows the charges for printing the book; but no copy is now known.

The earliest bit of Indian printing which has been preserved is a broadside, "A Christian Covenanting Confession," in which the English and Indian are given in parallel columns. Its date is not quite certain; but probably, as Dr. Trumbull thinks, it was printed in 1660 or before. The only copy known is in the library of the University of Edinburgh. It was reissued a few years later; and of this the only copy known is in the Congregational Library in Boston.

Eliot's completed translation of the "New Testament" was published in 1661, in a thousand or fifteen hundred copies, as is thought. Forty of these were sent to England, for presentation, with English titles and a dedication to Charles II. in addition to the Indian title; and these are the most difficult copies to find. In any form this New Testament separate from the Bible of 1663, of which it later formed a part, is a rarer book than the latter. The appreciation of price has been very great in seventy-five years. In 1820 the same copy which in the Barlow sale brought \$610 was sold for three shillings and sixpence. Rich priced it in 1832 at two guineas. Ten years later it was sold at three guineas. Quaritch in 1884 found it difficult to sell a copy at £105, and reduced it later to £95 and then to £90; but good copies like those in the Barlow (No. 852)

and Brinley (No. 786) sales have brought \$610 and \$700. It was sold recently in the Livermore sale (No. 196).

Mr. Eames counts seven copies in English libraries, and eight in this country. These latter ones are in the following libraries: Boston Athenæum, Harvard College, Astor, and Lenox (two copies); while there are two in the Carter-Brown Collection, and another copy is in private hands in New York. Dr. Green records one, with the Indian title only, in the Massachusetts Historical Society Library. Mr. Wright, in his "Early Bibles of America" (New York, 1894), has been able to trace nineteen copies in all.

In 1663, after having been three years in the press, the entire Bible in Indian, as translated by Eliot, was completed; and, the New Testament of 1661 being included, the whole was published in an edition of one or perhaps two thousand copies. A small part of the edition had the dedication to King Charles II., which was first brought to modern notice when the Rev. T. M. Harris discovered it in a copy used for shaving-papers in a barber's shop, which dedication he reprinted in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The earliest list of known copies of this complete Bible in this country is, I think, one made by the late John R. Bartlett in 1859; and he had discovered thirteen. In 1861 the late Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan found fifteen, besides two others, of which he was not sure that they were of this first edition. When writing the preface of the Prince Catalogue in 1870, I had increased the count to twenty. Mr. T. W. Field in 1873 enumerated twenty-three, and Mr. Nathaniel Paine, of Worcester, in the same year made the number twenty-six. Mr. Eames in 1891, discarding some copies hitherto counted as of the first edition and adding others, made the number twenty-eight. To this last enumeration may be added two copies of the Old Testament not joined to the New,—namely, one, Lord Kingsborough's copy, now in the Carter-Brown Collection; and the other made of passable completeness by uniting fragments of other copies. Mr. Gunther, of Chicago, gave \$250 in 1886 for this made-up copy.

The highest price yet attained in this country for a complete entire Bible belongs, I think, to a duplicate from the Bodleian, which was brought to the United States in 1862 and sold in the Bruce sale in 1868 for \$1130 to John A. Rice, of Chicago, and was again sold for \$1050 at the Rice sale (No. 662) in

1870 to Bouton, the dealer of New York, from whom it passed to Menzies, who substituted a genuine leaf for one in it which had been taken from the second edition. At the Menzies sale (No. 665) it was sold for \$900 to J. J. Cooke, and at his sale in 1883 (No. 789) it was sold to Mr. Brayton Ives for \$1250, and in 1891, when the Ives books were sold, it brought \$1650. This price had been exceeded in 1888, when Quaritch gave £580 for the Hardwicke copy.

The earliest prices which are known for this Bible of 1663 are nineteen shillings in 1676 and three shillings in 1677. By 1840 or later we find Mr. Lenox giving £21 for one of his copies. By 1853 we find £100 paid. In 1861 we note £63. The upward tendency was now accelerated. In 1864 the Allan copy (No. 1013) went to Brinley for \$825. In 1869 Quaritch sold a copy to Brinley for £200. In 1870 a duplicate from Trinity College, Dublin, was held by Quaritch at £250, but, purchasers failing, he had to lower the price in 1873 to £225 and in 1875 to £200, when M. Pinart, of Paris, bought it; and in 1883 at his sale (No. 113) Quaritch bought it back for 2700 francs, and resold it to the Astor Library for £225. The Brinley copies in 1879–1881 brought, respectively, \$550, \$1000, and \$1200, — one of them had the added interest of having belonged to Mayhew, Eliot's associate in the mission work. A copy belonging to Mr. Theodore Irwin, of Oswego, being "Ye gift of ye Rev^d Translator" to Thomas Shepard, is the only one known to have passed the hands of Eliot himself.

As Mr. Eames counted them three years ago, there were fourteen copies, perfect and more or less imperfect, in private hands in this country, three of which at least — those belonging to Ives, Kalbfleisch, and Livermore — have since changed hands. Of the others, besides that of the Carter-Brown Collection, there were thirteen copies accessible in public collections, three of them being in the Lenox Library. The other ten are placed as follows: Boston Athenæum, Boston Public Library (the Prince copy), Massachusetts Historical Society (see Dr. Green's "Early American Imprints"), Harvard College, Andover Theological Seminary, American Antiquarian Society (the Isaiah Thomas copy), Bowdoin College, Astor Library, Library of Congress, and the Philadelphia Library (Loganian Collection). There are eleven copies known in Europe, of which three are in the British Museum and two in the library of the

University of Glasgow. The only copy out of England, so far as known, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. That once in the Zealand Academy of Science is now offered for sale by Quaritch.

The metrical version of the Psalms which made a part of this Bible was probably based on the English metrical version of the "Bay Psalm Book"; and if any issue of it separate from the whole Bible, as is supposed was the case, was made, no copy is known, nor is any known of the prose version, also a part of the Bible, and likewise supposed to have been issued independently.

The "Massachusee Psalter" of 1709 is a version based on Eliot's, but a good deal modified by Experience Mayhew, in accordance with the dialect of the Indians of Martha's Vineyard. A translation of the Gospel of John was appended to it. There are copies in the American Antiquarian Society, Boston Athenæum, Lenox, and Yale libraries, and also in the Carter-Brown and Trumbull collections. A copy in the Barlow sale (No. 1595) passed to the Boston Public Library. There were three copies in the Brinley sale (Nos. 798, 799, 800), the best of which brought \$135. The Murphy copy (No. 1615) brought only \$27. There was a copy in the Livermore sale (No. 594).

Eliot next made a translation into Indian of Baxter's "Call to the Unconverted" (1664); and though a thousand copies were distributed to the Indians, not one is now known. It was reprinted twenty-four years later (1688), and there are copies in the following libraries: Harvard College, American Antiquarian Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston Public Library (Prince copy), and Yale College. The last copy was bought for \$135 from the Brinley catalogue (No. 782), and is conjectured to be the copy which belonged to the Rev. William Jenks, D.D., of Boston, and was sold in 1867 for \$27.

At the instance of the London Society, Eliot now began work on a version of Bishop Bayly's "Practice of Piety," a very popular religious handbook at this time, which he abridged somewhat in his translation. It was published in 1665. It is rare. There are copies in the Bodleian and in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society. The only sale I have noted is that of a copy sold by Quaritch in 1873 for £90 to Brinley, and bought at the latter's sale (No. 795) in 1879 for \$205 by Yale College. A second edition (1685) is in the British

Museum, Lenox, Boston Public (Prince copy), and Carter-Brown libraries. There was a copy in Dr. Jenks' sale in 1867 which brought \$61. Quaritch in 1873 sold a copy for £50 to Brinley (No. 795). At the latter's sale in 1879 there were two other copies; one (No. 797, the Nodier copy) went to the Lenox Library for \$50, and the other, imperfect (No. 796), was bought by Trumbull for \$42.50.

Eliot in 1666 published his "Indian Grammar," — an attempt "to bring the Indian language into rules," in which he had the help of his sons, colaborers with him in his missionary work. He had been prompted to this task by Robert Boyle. It is thought that the edition was five hundred copies, and that a few of them may have been bound up with copies of the Bible of 1663. There are four copies known abroad, — British Museum, Bodleian, and Universities of Edinburgh and Göttingen. In 1859 a copy brought £45 10s., which is supposed to be the present Lenox copy. The Brinley copy (No. 791) was bought by Trumbull for \$57.50. There are other copies in the American Philosophical Society and Carter-Brown libraries. An imperfect copy was in the George H. Moore sale (No. 701).

In 1671 Eliot printed at Cambridge his "Indian Dialogues," entirely in English, and intended for the use of the native teachers; of this there is a copy in the Lenox Library.

In 1672 there were printed for the use of the Indian seminary at Natick a thousand copies of Eliot's "Logick Primer: Some logical notions to initiate the Indians in the Knowledge of the Rule of Reason." It is given in Indian with an interlinear translation. The only known copy is in the British Museum; but Mr. Pilling had a few photo-facsimiles made of this copy, and these are owned by Mr. Eames, Major Powell of the Bureau of Ethnology, and J. C. Pilling, the compiler of the "Algonquian Bibliography." A copy was given to Dr. George H. Moore, and was in Part II. of his library, No. 614, sold in 1894.

There were two books of "John Josselyn, Gent.," which were published in the year just preceding the outbreak of 1675, which give us the observations of an intelligent sojourner in New England, — first in 1638, and later in 1663. In his "New England's Rarities discovered" (London, 1672), he enlarges upon "the physical and Chyrurgical Remedies, where-

with the natives constantly use to cure their distempers, wounds and sores; also a perfect description of an Indian Squa in all her bravery." The book has of late been priced at seven or eight guineas, and at the Ives sale brought \$42.50; and there was a second edition in 1675. Both editions were in the Brinley sale (Nos. 315, 316), and are in the Carter-Brown Collection. The New York Historical Society and the Lenox Library have the first, and Harvard College the second. It has been sold in the following sales: Crowninshield (No. 584), Griswold (No. 386), Murphy (No. 1381), and Barlow (No. 1351). It was reprinted with notes by Edward Tuckerman in the American Antiquarian Society Transactions, vol. iv., and again separately with Tuckerman's notes revised and an introduction, in Boston, by Veazie, in 1865.

Josselyn's second book, "An account of two Voyages to New England" (London, 1674), gives a description of the "countrey, natives, and creatures." Recent prices range from four to ten guineas. I note in France a sale at 200 francs, and in this country at \$32.50 and \$55, or between those sums, for either the first or second edition. This last was simply a title edition, the old sheets being used. There are copies in the New York Historical Society and Lenox Library (first issue), and in the private collections of Carter-Brown, Charles Deane, and Edward J. Young. The Harvard College copy is of the second issue, and was used in making Veazie's reprint in 1865. There have been sales of one date or the other in the Crowninshield (No. 583), Aspinwall, Menzies (No. 1105), Brinley (No. 315), Barlow (No. 1352), and Ives collections.

There is another reprint in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. xxiii.

The war with King Philip, breaking out in 1675, led to a series of narratives upon its progress, five of which have been reprinted by S. G. Drake in his "Old Indian Chronicle" in 1836 and 1867. In the opening year of the conflict we find, covering the period from June 20 to November 10, and written "by a merchant of Boston," a London imprint upon (1) "The Present State of New England with respect to the Indian War." Two editions were printed with the date 1675; but the later of these is sometimes found with the date altered by a

pen to 1676. It was thought rare in Rich's time (1832), and priced then at from twelve to thirty shillings. It was in the Stevens of 1881 (No. 152), Brinley (No. 417), and Murphy sales (No. 1769). There are copies of different varieties of the book in the following libraries: Boston Athenæum, Harvard College, Lenox (2 editions), Library of Congress (2 editions), and in the Charles Deane and Carter-Brown collections.

This was the precursor of various folio and quarto tracts, published in London and continuing the record, thus: (2) "A Continuation of the State of New England," 1676, covering the interval November 10, 1675, to February 8, 1676. It is in the Lenox and Carter-Brown collections, and has been sold in the Crowninshield (No. 767), Stevens of 1881 (No. 1524), Brinley (Nos. 418, 430), and Murphy (No. 1770) sales.

(3) E. Wharton's "New England's present Sufferings." 1675. I find it priced of late at 150 francs and £7 10s. It is in the Lenox Library and Carter-Brown Collection.

(4) "A brief and True narrative," etc., 1675. In the Lenox (Barlow copy, \$140) and Carter-Brown collections.

(5) "A farther brief and true narration," 1676. It was in the Barlow sale (No. 1234), and was bought by the Lenox Library for \$205.

(6) "A New and further narrative of the State of New England," covering March to August, 1676. There are copies in the Lenox Library, in the Boston Public Library, and in the Carter-Brown Collection. It was in the Brinley (No. 430) and Barlow (No. 1765) sales. I have found it priced at ten guineas.

(7) "A true account of the most Considerable occurrences," etc. (May 5 to August 4), 1676. It was intended to correct some of the earlier statements. It is in the Lenox Library and in the Carter-Brown Collection, and was sold in the Barlow (No. 1765) sale.

(8) "News from New England by a factor in New England," etc., 1676. The first edition is in the Lenox Library (Barlow copy, \$210), and Sabin reported one in the C. H. Kalbfleisch Collection. There was a second edition, of which there are copies in the British Museum and in the Carter-Brown Collection. It was reprinted by S. G. Drake, with notes at Boston in 1850, and again in Drake's "Old Indian Chronicle" (1867). It was also reprinted at Albany in 1865.

The war was commemorated by Benjamin Tompson — “a learned schoolmaster & physician & y^e renound poet of N: Engl.,” as his tombstone in Roxbury calls him — in a poem which he sent to England to be published ; and the only copy of it known is in the Carter-Brown Library at Providence, and is called “New England’s Tears for her present myseries, or a late and true relation of the Calamities of New England, since April last past . . . by an inhabitant of Boston.” London, 1676. This earliest New England epic, if it may be so called, was reprinted in Boston, 1676, with changes, and with Tompson’s name, but under the title of “New England’s Crisis.” The only copy known is in the Boston Athenæum, but it lacks the title. From this copy it was edited by J. F. Hunnewell for “The Club of Odd Volumes,” and published in fac-simile in Boston, in 1894. The two editions have been described by Dr. S. A. Green in the Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, June, 1895.

One of the rarest of the tracts on Philip’s War, printed at “Cambridge, N. E.,” in two forms, was the account by Thomas Wheeler of the attack by the Indians on Hutchinson’s command near Brookfield. The Carter-Brown Catalogue shows the two varieties: under 1675 is “A True narrative of the Lords Providences in various dispensations towards Capt. Edward Hutchinson of Boston and myself,” etc., which is without place or date ; and under 1676 is “A Thankful Remembrance of God’s Mercy,” etc., by Edward Bulkley, of Concord, printed at Cambridge, 1676. There were two copies of this last variety in the Brinley sale (Nos. 884 and 885), the last having the title in fac-simile. Another copy was in the W. E. Woodward sale, bringing \$72, which in 1870 appeared in the Boon sale (No. 2994), and was sold for \$175. There are accessible copies in the Lenox and Yale libraries.

Wheeler’s narrative has been reprinted in Joseph I. Foot’s “Historical Discourse” (Brookfield, 1843), and in Temple’s “North Brookfield.”

What has been called the earliest Thanksgiving broadside known (Love’s “Fast and Thanksgiving days of New England”) is one probably printed at Cambridge, being a proclamation “at a Council, held at Charlestown, June the 20th, 1676,” appointing June 29 as a thanksgiving after “long and

Continued Series of [God's] Afflictive dispensations in & by the present Warr with the Heathen Natives of this Land," and His "reserving many of our Towns from Desolation Threatned, and attempted by the Enemy, and giving us especially of late with our Confederates many Signal Advantages against them." Dr. Green's list shows there is a copy in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and it is reproduced in fac-simile in Love's "Fast and Thanksgiving Days," p. 200. Mr. Love could not find an original copy of the broadside proclamation for a Thanksgiving, November 9, 1676, though a reprint of it is in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," II. 201.

Perhaps the earliest of a class of books which collectors know as "Captivities" was one detailing the experience of eleven weeks "amongst the heathens" during this war. The narrator was the wife of a minister in Lancaster, Massachusetts; and her account is "The Sovereignty and Goodness of God; a narrative of the Captivity and Restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson," Cambridge, 1682. No copy is known of the first edition, the date given being that of the second edition, of which there are copies in the Prince Collection in the Boston Public Library and in the British Museum. It was reprinted the same year in London, as a "True History of the Captivity," etc.; and this edition is easier to find. It is in the Lenox Library and in the Carter-Brown Collection, and was sold in the Crowninshield (No. 938), O'Callaghan (No. 2031), Brinley (Nos. 484, 2701), and Cooke (No. 2205) sales. I have seen it priced recently at £3 5s. There are copies in the Watkinson (Hartford) and Yale libraries.

The story of Quintin Stockwell, of Deerfield, who suffered captivity among the Indians in 1677, and whose narrative is another of the earliest books of this class, is given in Increase Mather's "Essay for the recording of illustrious providences," (Boston, 1684). There are at least two varieties of the title-page. It is in the Prince Collection (Boston Public Library), in the Lenox Library; and three copies were sold in the Brinley Library (Nos. 983, 984, 7616). It is priced nowadays at about £12.

The best-known contemporary narratives of the war were the rival ones of Increase Mather and William Hubbard. Mather,

beginning the story June 24, 1675, "when the first Englishman was murdered by the Indians," continued it to the death of Philip, August 12, 1676, in what he calls "A brief history of the war with the Indians in New England," Boston, 1676. This original edition was long almost unknown. Drake in 1862 thought that an offer of fifty dollars even could not produce a copy. Sabin in 1883 had never seen one, and reported that a copy had been held in England at £300. In 1889 the compiler of the Barlow Catalogue had heard of only three perfect copies. The bookseller, William George, of Bristol, England, in 1876 held a copy of this edition "revised and corrected by ye author" in manuscript and given to his son Samuel in 1682. There are at this day copies in the American Antiquarian Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, Lenox Library, and in the Boston Public Library. The last is the Lewis copy, said to have been used by S. G. Drake in 1862 in making his reprint, in a book called "The History of King Philip's War." The Brinley and Barlow sales disclosed two copies of the original issue in each. No. 948 of the Brinley sale was in the publisher's wrapper, and No. 5531 was a lot of two imperfect copies, fit to make one complete. Brinley obtained a large part of his Mather Collection from Henry Stevens, after his offer of them to Mr. Lenox and Mr. Carter Brown had been declined. Both of the Barlow copies (Nos. 1606, 1608) were slightly imperfect. I find quotations of the Boston edition at £20, \$60, and \$150.

The London edition of the same year (1676) is not so rare. There are copies in the Boston Public Library, Harvard College, the Lenox Library, the Library of Congress, and in the Carter-Brown Collection. It was in the Crowninshield Catalogue (No. 680). Barlow had one copy (No. 1607), and Brinley three (Nos. 409, 410, 949). I find American prices running up to \$125, and English to £20. The Menzies copy brought \$79, and again in the Ives sale \$95, and was (1895) offered by a later owner for \$85.

Some, if not all, of the copies of the London edition lack Mather's "Earnest Exhortation to the Inhabitants of New England," which is appended to the Boston print.

It is supposed that Mather had hastened his book in order to anticipate the appearance of the Rev. William Hubbard's "Narrative of the troubles with the Indians in New England,

1607-1677. But chiefly of the Troubles in the last two years, 1675 and 1676. To which is added a Discourse about the Warre with the Pequods in the year 1637." This was printed by Foster at Boston in 1677. The map which accompanies both the Boston and the later London edition was probably cut by Foster, the printer, and recut for the London edition, of a slightly different size and with some corrections. It was cut on wood, and is the earliest instance of such work in the English Colonies. The maps of the two issues are distinguishable by having the mountains in New Hampshire called on one the "Wine Hills" and on the other, correctly, the "White Hills," the last being the later cut, and it consequently properly belongs to the London edition, though it is possible that Foster may have substituted it for the earlier imperfect map in some remainder copies of the Boston edition. The later map is found in the Lewis copy of the Boston edition now in the Boston Public Library.

The Boston edition of the book was licensed March 29, 1677, but was perhaps partly in type at that time; and there are two varieties of this edition, signature M having been cancelled in some copies. The Lewis copy has both signatures, the original and the substitute. Copies of this edition are almost always in bad order and not in the original binding, so that the proper map of any particular copy is not easily determined. Rich in 1832 held a copy at £1 10s. Copies with no map or with the map in fac-simile are cited of late years at from \$75 to \$200, but, if otherwise imperfect, at lower cost. The Ives copy brought \$225. Quaritch in 1885 held a copy with the "White Hills" map at £70. Dodd, Mead, & Co. a few years ago priced a copy in Bedford's binding and with an original "White Hills" map at \$400. The copies in recent sales have been nearly all imperfect. Brinley had three copies (Nos. 393, 780, 8397), but neither of them had a genuine map. The two Cooke copies (Nos. 1230, 1231) were supplied with fac-simile maps. One of the copies bought by Harvard College, was thought at the time to be genuine; but the map proved to be one of Harris's hand-made fac-similes made in 1872 for Henry Stevens. The Murphy (No. 1276) and Barlow (No. 1181) copies were both similarly imperfect. A copy in the Menzies sale (No. 990) brought \$200. The Prince copy in the Boston Public Library has manuscript notes

by Prince; but lacks the map, as does the copy belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society. The Carter-Brown copy has the map. There are copies in the Lenox Library (both issues, with both maps) and in the Charles Deane Collection. The initials "J. S." are appended to an epistle addressed to Hubbard and printed in the book; and Dr. Green says that a copy belonging to Mr. Sumner Hollingsworth, of Boston, has a manuscript note assigning this epistle to "John Sherman," though Sibley and others have interpreted the initials as standing for Jeremiah Shepard.

Hubbard's book reprinted in London the same year, 1677, was improved and corrected, and the title was changed to "The Present State of New England, being a Narrative," etc. There was also a slight change made in the phraseology of the dedication. There are copies in Harvard College, Lenox, Carter-Brown, and Charles Deane libraries. Brinley (No. 394) had Southey's copy, and another (No. 395) in the original binding, both with the genuine map; so had Murphy's copy (No. 1275). Quaritch in 1885, in offering a copy without a map for £15, contended that no map belonged to the London edition. The Barlow copy (No. 1182, \$100) had Stevens' fac-simile of the map, as did one which belonged to Stevens himself, and was offered later at £12 10s. Two copies of this London edition belonging to Mr. Hollingsworth, differ, according to Dr. Green, slightly. The highest quotation for a good copy with the map, which I have seen, is £25. Of late years copies with no map or with one in fac-simile have brought £12 or £15, and £25 or more with the genuine map.

Hubbard's book, which had covered the Indian wars from the first settlement, prompted Increase Mather to supply deficiencies in its story, by preparing his "Relation of the troubles which have hapned in New England, 1614-1675," which was published in Boston in 1677. There are copies in the Boston Public, Massachusetts Historical Society, and Lenox libraries; and copies were sold in the Brinley (No. 1019) and Murphy (No. 1634) sales. It was reprinted by Drake in 1864, as "The Early History of New England."

Mather further celebrated the end of the war in an "Historical discourse . . . wherein is shown that New England's late deliverance from the rage of the heathen is an eminent answer of prayer," Boston, 1677, of which there are copies in

the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in the Lenox Library, and in the Carter-Brown Collection. This sermon had made a part originally of the "Relation" of 1677.

A vessel under the command of Caleb More sailed from Rhode Island carrying an account of the death of Philip, supposed to be written by Richard Hutchinson; and this was published in London, 1677, as "The Warr in New England visibly ended." There are copies in the Lenox and Carter-Brown collections, and one was sold in the Brinley sale (No. 430).

The war begun by Philip may be considered as closed by the treaty at Casco, April 2, 1678. A proclamation issued by order of the General Court of May 8, 1678, for a fast on June 6, mentions the "rebuking the Malice of the Blood-thirsty Heathen about us." A copy is owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The war with Philip, which had rent New England as never before, had caused a large destruction of the printed products of the missionary spirit. To replace this loss, Eliot, who had called John Cotton, of Plymouth, to his aid, began printing a second and revised edition of the Indian "New Testament" in 1680, and, completing it in 1681, it was printed in twenty-five hundred copies. Of this number two thousand are said to have been kept to add to the later Old Testament and make the completed Bible of 1685. Of the separate five hundred, the only copy known is one described by Dr. Green in his "Early American Imprints" (p. 46), as belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society, which has the Psalms in Indian appended. A copy in private hands in Boston (Mr. W. G. Shillaber) is thought to have been separated from a complete Bible of 1685; and Mr. Eames thinks this copy a part of a copy of the second edition which was No. 380 in the original Crowninshield Catalogue, and No. 649 when sold by Henry Stevens later in London, at which time it brought £6 15s. It is supposed also to have passed through the hands of Murphy and Sabin, the dealer. The second edition of the completed Bible was published in 1685, in two thousand copies at a cost of £900. A few of these had a dedication to Robert Boyle, and in 1870 the Harvard College copy was thought to be the only one which had this

inscription; but now at least nine copies which show it are counted.

The known copies in the United States have gradually increased. In 1859 J. R. Bartlett noted fourteen; O'Callaghan, in 1861, counted nineteen; I reckoned in the Prince Catalogue in 1870 twenty copies; and Mr. Paine in 1873 enumerated twenty-eight. In 1891 Mr. Eames was able to describe, including both perfect and imperfect specimens, twenty-eight in public libraries, sixteen in private hands, in this country, — a total of forty-four. Besides he noted thirteen in Europe, eight of which were in England and Scotland.

The price in England for 1820 and for a score of years later was commonly from £1 to £3. From 1840 to 1850 I find such prices in this country as these: \$25, \$39, \$40. In 1853 Mr. Lenox gave £22 for one of his copies. A fine copy in 1860 was priced at £200. Dr. William Jenks' copy in 1867 brought \$300. In 1874 Mr. Lenox gave 160 guineas for another of his copies. The Griswold copy (No. 206) in 1876 brought \$325. Quaritch in 1870 asked £50 for a copy which is supposed to be the one priced by Leclerc in Paris, in 1878 for 1500 francs. In 1884 Quaritch held two copies, one at £120 and the other at £150. The former he reduced in 1887 to £105, and sent it to Boston, where it was bought by Bishop J. F. Hurst, of Washington. The other copy was reduced to £125 in 1887, and when brought to this country in the Quaritch American Exhibition in 1891, was listed at \$625.

The most extraordinary collection of copies ever got together in this country was that of the Brinley Library. It counted six in all, of which two were sold in 1879, two in 1881, and two in 1893, numbered in the catalogue as follows:

No. 789, sold as a part of a lot of old books at the Marquis of Hastings' sale in 1868, when Quaritch bought the lot for £2 10s. It was understood that a number of dealers had discovered the prize, but by refraining from competition shared by agreement in the advantages of the low price. Brinley is said to have given \$1100 for this copy, and at his sale Dr. Trumbull gave \$500, and sold it to Murphy, at whose sale (No. 884) it passed for \$950 to the Carter-Brown Collection.

No. 790, a copy which had belonged to Grindall Rawson, was sold to L. Z. Leiter for \$500.

No. 5683, Governor Stoughton's copy, was sold to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for \$590.

No. 5684, Jonathan Edwards' copy, was sold for \$550 to Cornelius Vanderbilt.

No. 8434, Dr. William Jenks' copy.

No. 8435, John Pickering's copy.

The copies known to be in public collections in the United States are as follows : —

Bowdoin College; Dartmouth College (two copies); Andover Theological Seminary; Boston Athenæum (two copies); Boston Public Library (Prince copy); Congregational Library, Boston; Massachusetts Historical Society; Pilgrim Society, Plymouth; Harvard College; Morse Institute, Natick; American Antiquarian Society; Connecticut Historical Society (two copies); Yale College (two copies); New York Historical Society; Lenox Library (two copies); Long Island Historical Society; New York State Library; American Philosophical Society; Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Library Company of Philadelphia; Library of Congress (Force's copy); and University of South Carolina.

Yale College has owned two other copies, — one Samson Occom's, and the other had belonged to H. R. Schoolcraft and Thomas W. Field. They were both imperfect, and were sold to Lucius L. Hubbard, of Cambridge, in 1883. The Ebeling copy, which was a duplicate at Harvard College, passed to Judge John Davis by an exchange, and is now in the Library of the University of Virginia.

Of the sixteen copies in private hands in 1891, three at least have since changed hands at the final Brinley and the Livermore sales. There are two in the Carter-Brown Collection. What is thought to have been a presentation copy from Eliot himself to Robert Barclay belongs to the University of Edinburgh. Copies at the Universities of Leyden and Utrecht were gifts to them from Increase Mather.

The Rev. John Wright, in his "Early Bibles of America" (N. Y., 1894, 3d ed.), has given the latest enumeration of known copies of the New Testament and Bible in both editions; and he counts one hundred and twenty-five in all, perfect and imperfect. He adds twelve to those described before.

The only copy known of the little tract by Eliot, "Dying Speeches of several indians," printed about this time in Cam-

bridge, was sold in the Brinley sale (No. 765), and is now in the Lenox Library.

Thomas Prince notes a duodecimo copy of "The Indian Primer," "containing ye Large Catechism," as printed at Cambridge about 1684; and Dr. Green suspects that a defective copy in 32mo owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society is the same impression, though he might for other reasons connect it with an edition which Eliot asked Boyle for authority to print in 1686, after he had completed an edition of Bayly's "Practice of Piety." This fragment is the only copy known of such an edition, whatever the date.

In 1688 Increase Mather addressed to Professor Leusden, of Utrecht, an account in Latin of the efforts in New England to evangelize the natives; and this was printed at London in 1688 as "*De Successu Evangelij apud Indos occidentales in Nova Anglia, Epistola*," etc. There are copies in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston Public Library (Prince copy), Lenox Library, and in the Carter-Brown Collection. Others were sold in the Brinley (No. 7618) and Murphy (No. 1636) sales. The two copies in Harvard College Library show a slight difference in the titlepage. A German translation was printed at Halle in 1696, of which copies are in the Harvard College and Carter-Brown libraries. The Latin was reprinted at Utrecht in 1699, and a copy was in the Brinley (No. 1038) sale, and another is in the Lenox Library. Cotton Mather gave it in English in the "*Magnalia*."

The last of Eliot's publications was made in 1689, when he was eighty-five years old. He turned Shepard's "Sincere Convert" into Indian, and got Grindall Rawson to revise it. There are copies in the American Antiquarian Society, Lenox, Yale, and Carter-Brown libraries, and one is owned by Dr. J. H. Trumbull, of Hartford. It was sold for \$12 at Dr. Jenks' sale in 1867. When the Brinley Collection came under the hammer, the copy now at Yale (No. 804) brought \$100; that (No. 803) in the Carter-Brown Collection \$40, and Trumbull gave \$21 for his, which had two leaves in fac-simile.

Increase Mather's "Brief Relation of the State of New England from the beginning of that plantation to the present year," London, 1689, has but scant reference to the Indians.

There is a copy in the Carter-Brown Collection, and another in the Lenox Library.

Of Cotton Mather's "Souldiers Counsell'd and Comforted. A discourse delivered unto some part of the Forces engaged in a just war against the northern and Eastern indians, Sept. 1, 1689," Boston, 1689, there were two copies (Nos. 1235, 1236) in the Brinley sale, and a third is in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

There is in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library a broadside, "Relation of Captain Bull Concerning the Mohavvks at Fort Albany, May, 1689," which records a mission of a Connecticut agent to Albany, that produced some questions of the relations of the Mohawk and Eastern Indians. Dr. Green further describes two broadsides in the same library relative to Phips' expedition, "intended for Canada, against the common enemy, French and Indians"; and also a proclamation for a fast, March 6, 1689-90, asking God "to preserve us from the rage of our heathen enemies."

The earliest printed newsletter issued in New England was a single folded sheet, called "Publick Occurrences," dated Sept. 25, 1690, which announced itself as the beginning of a series, which never went farther. The only copy known is preserved in the Public Record Office, London; and it was reprinted by Dr. Samuel A. Green in the "Historical Magazine" (vol. i. p. 228). It has various items of news of the "Christianized" and "barbarous" Indians.

Cotton Mather's Boston Lecture of this year, "The Present State of New England . . . upon the news of an invasion by bloody indians and Frenchmen begun upon us" (Boston, 1690), shows the feelings then prevalent towards the Indians, uneasy under French instigation. There were three copies in the Brinley Collection (Nos. 326, 1196, 7650), one of which is now in the Lenox Library, and others are in the Harvard College and Massachusetts Historical Society libraries.

Cotton Mather in the same year (1691) reviewed the course of the Indian missions in his "Triumph of the Reformed Religion in America: the life of the renowned John Eliot, . . . a memorable evangelist among the indians of New England." It is in the Congregational, Harvard, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston Public (Prince copy), Lenox, and American Antiquarian Society libraries, and in the Carter-Brown Collec-

tion ; and there were two copies in the Brinley sale (Nos. 1254, 1255).

A "second edition, carefully corrected," was issued in London the same year as "The Life and Death of the renown'd Mr. John Eliot." This is in the Boston Athenæum, the American Antiquarian Society, the Lenox Library, and in the Carter-Brown Collection, and was likewise sold in the Brinley (No. 1256) and Murphy (No. 1631) sales.

A third edition (1694) is also in the Harvard Library, in the Lenox Library, and in the Carter-Brown Collection, and was sold in the Livermore Collection (No. 1692).

The same year (1691) the last of the Indian versions which were printed in Cambridge appeared in Grindall Rawson's translation of John Cotton's "Spiritual milk for Babes." There are copies in the Boston Athenæum, American Antiquarian Society, Harvard, Lenox, and Yale libraries. Other copies are in the Carter-Brown and Dr. Trumbull's collections. There were three copies (Nos. 783, 804, 805) in the Brinley sale, and they brought respectively \$50, \$70, and (with another book) \$100.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has a broadside proclamation for Thanksgiving, July 14, 1692, which speaks of "Restraints upon our enemies," and of their defeat "in a late attack upon the Eastern parts."

In 1694 Matthew Mayhew's "Brief narrative of the success which the Gospel hath had among the indians of Martha's Vineyard, with some remarkable Curiosities concerning the Numbers, the Customes, and the Present Circumstances of the Indians in that island, . . . and the present state of Christianity among the indians in other parts of New England," was printed at Boston. There is a copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library.

It was reprinted in London in 1695-1696 as "Conquests and triumphs of Grace; being a brief narrative," etc. It purports further "to explain and Confirm the account given in the life of the Renowned Mr. John Eliot," and covers a letter of Increase Mather on the missions, dated July 12, 1687. There were copies in the Menzies (brought \$105) and Murphy (No. 1648) sales ; and one is in the Carter-Brown Collection.

Cotton Mather's "Humiliations followed with deliverances . . . with an appendix containing a narrative of wonderful

passages relating to the captivity and deliverance of Hannah Swarton" is one of his rarer tracts. It was in the Brinley (No. 1139) sale. The narrative was reprinted in the "Magnalia."

A 16mo tract, "Kneeling to God," etc., by J. Danforth, pastor of the Church of Christ in Dorchester (Boston, 1697), has appended to it, to help "fill up the vacant pages," a poem "To the blessed memory of the Venerable Mr. John Eliot, Teacher to the Church of Christ in Roxbury, and a Propagator of the Gospel to the Indians in N. England, Who rested from his Labours, May, 20, Anno Dom. 1690. Aetatis Suae, 86." It is signed "J. D." There is a copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library.

The first book in Indian printed in Boston was a translation by Samuel Danforth of "Five Sermons" by Increase Mather, published in 1698. There were two copies in the Brinley sale (Nos. 801, 5687), one of them bringing \$110. The American Antiquarian Society owns a copy, and another is in the Lenox Library.

The election sermon of 1698 was Nicholas Noyes' "New England's Duty and interest," and it had appended an account dated Boston, July 12, 1698, of the visitation among the Indians in May and June, 1698, made by Grindall Rawson and Samuel Danforth, "Preachers to the indians in their own Tongue." There is a copy in the Carter-Brown Collection, and two copies (Nos. 833, 2695) were sold in the Brinley sale. Other copies are in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Congregational, Harvard College, Lenox, and Boston Public (Prince copy) libraries.

Grindall Rawson prepared the Indian form of a "Confession of Faith," after the pattern agreed upon May 12, 1680, and, accompanied by the English, it was printed in Boston in 1699. There are copies in the American Antiquarian Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston Public, Harvard, Lenox, and Yale libraries, and another in the British Museum. It was in the Crowninshield sale (No. 907), and one of the Brinley copies (No. 784) fell to Yale at \$70, and the other (No. 5688) brought \$85.

A "naughty and very scarce book," as Dr. Trumbull calls it, is Edward Ward's "Trip to New England, with a character of the Country and people, both English and Indiane," London, 1699. Copies are in the Lenox Library and in the Carter-Brown Collection, and the Brinley Catalogue (No. 371) shows

a second edition of 1704. The original edition is rare, and was recently priced in London at £17 10s.

In 1699 Cotton Mather published a good-sized book, — worth mentioning under such a designation amid a cloud of his pamphlets, — called “*Decennium Luctuosum*. An history of remarkable occurrences in the long war which New England hath had with the Indian salvages, 1688–1698,” and accompanied by a Boston lecture, in which the story is “repeated and improved.” It was in the Brinley sale (No. 1097).

There were two occasional tracts of Cotton Mather printed at Boston in 1700. One is “An Epistle to the Christian indians, giving them a short account of what the English desire them to know and to do,” etc., printed both in Indian and English. There was a copy in the Barlow sale (No. 1598), which is now in the Lenox Library, and one is in the library of the New York Historical Society. Another copy is owned by Dr. Samuel A. Green. An edition dated 1706 is not, as Sibley thinks, a title edition merely, for it differs from the other on nearly every page. There are copies in the Harvard, Lenox, and Massachusetts Historical Society libraries. An imperfect copy was sold in the Brinley sale (No. 802) for \$35, and a perfect one in the sale of Lenox duplicates (No. 216) for \$460.

The subject of the last prefigures the Indians’ fate: “A monitory and hortatory letter to those English who debauch the indians by selling strong drink unto them” (Boston, 1700). There are copies in the Harvard, Boston Public (Prince), and American Antiquarian Society libraries.

Mention in closing may be made of a two-page printed speech of the Earl of Bellomont to the General Assembly in Boston, May 29, 1700, — a copy of which belongs to the Massachusetts Historical Society, — in which he relates “the Circumstances we are in with the Eastern Indians,” whom “the French missionaries have debauch’d” from “their former obedience to the King.”

I am under obligations to Mr. Eames of the Lenox Library for aid in the revision of this paper. He also draws my attention to No. 1763 of the Barlow Catalogue: “New Englands Faction discovered, or A Brief and True Account of their Persecution of the Church of England: the Beginning and Progress of the War with the Indians,” etc. [London, 1690], and signed “C. D.”

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN communicated some additional notes on the early Commencements at Harvard College, as follows:—

During a recent visit at Worcester I had an opportunity to examine some early New England almanacs belonging to the American Antiquarian Society, which are not found in the Historical Library; and from them I have gleaned the dates of a few Commencement Days at Cambridge, which are in addition to the List presented at the meeting of this Society held on May 9 last.

1657.

According to an Almanac (Cambridge) by S. B., the day fell on Tuesday, August 11.

1662.

An imperfect copy of an Almanac for this year, lacking the titlepage and a few other leaves, fixes the date as Tuesday, August 12.

1667.

According to Samuel Brackenbury's Almanac (Cambridge), the date fell on Tuesday, August 13.

1672.

Jeremiah Shepard's Almanac (Cambridge) gives the day as Tuesday, August 13.

It will be noticed that these additional dates in every instance fell on the same day of the second week in August; and thus they confirm the theory that during the period from 1651 to 1681 Commencement always came on the second Tuesday of that month. See *ante*, pp. 194–205.

Mr. JOHN T. HASSAM said:—

Among the one hundred and thirty-five letters constituting the first instalment of the Winthrop papers communicated in 1843 to this Society by its late President, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, is a letter dated April 18, 1633, from William Hilton to John Winthrop, Jr. (3 Mass. Hist. Coll. IX. 262). At the time of its publication, no other letters from William Hilton were known to be in existence. But in 1860 there

came into the possession of Mr. Winthrop, by a family arrangement, a mass of papers which had been preserved by six generations of the Winthrop family, at New London in Connecticut. Among them there are two hitherto unpublished letters of William Hilton. By the permission of Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., I have copied these letters for the Proceedings of the Society.

The first of these letters is from William Hilton to John Winthrop, Jr. It bears no date, but was probably written in 1633. It is as follows:—

SER—My duty & respect remembred to you & to m^s Winthrope these are to serteyffie you y^t after a short yet sumthing a teadeous Jorny it pleased the lord y^t I ariued at my habetatyon the saterday after my departure ffrom you I praise the lord I am in good health wth m^r Leaueridge & the rest of our good ffrends w^h vs Ser I must remaine your debter ffor that kindnes I reseaued ffrom you I pray you remember my dutyfull respect to your good ffather I am amoungst other his loue & kindnes to mee much bound to him ffor his louing counsell to mee in his last letter ffor the wch I most humbly thanke him Ser presuming vpon y^e goodnes of your loving & kind disposison make bould to serteyffie you of that wch I aprehend may stand wth y^e good of you & your neighbors wth you seeing the extre-ordinary conuenience that your plantatyon hath aboue any in this land that I haue seene ffor the keeping of Swine I inquired what quantety of swine were kept there it was answered mee but asmaule quantety & that it was determened that there shuld not many bee kept there in temating y^t it was thought that the plumes & clames might proue agreter beene ffit wch cannot bee nor any way the 100 part so benefi- siall this winter I haue had the benefitt of 10 hoges eauery hog worth 7 or 8 pounds beauer I was constrayned ye winter was twelue moneth to feed them all winter yet it was wth such meate as was not any way costly beeing but huskes of indean corne now the maner of ordering them John maning is able to serteyffie you now ffor the pserung of your Corne ffrom them vntill you can ffense your grounds aboute your houses you may set your corne very conueniently on the oposit side of the riuer & you shall ffind y^t if you pracktis the breeding of swine wth the beenefitt of the Iland you may wth a smaule charge in short time raise sum hundered of pounds yerely by them as you may gather by the preportyon of my stocke in that behalffe whoe haue not any such coueinecy as you haue Ser I pray you pardon my bouldnes herein ffor my eror herein is out of loue in that I desigre the good of you all both ffor speretuall & temporall things I knowe that mens labors cannot bee had at easie rats vntill corne & porke wth the like puiison bee plenty

if I were wth you I thinke I could answere all your obiecktyons & showe you a way y^t you might keepe them at an easie rate I am affred I haue bin teadeous vnto you & therefore desighring ye lord to blesse you & yours I humbly rest

Ser m^r Leueridge desigreth to be remembred to you though vnknowne

Your wo^r Asurd to command

WILLI HILTON

To y^e wo^r & his much respekted ffrend m^r JOHN WINTHROP gouernor at aguawam giue these.

The second letter is from William Hilton to Governor Winthrop, and is dated July 14, 1637. It is as follows:—

PASCATAQUE. July y^e 14th 1637

SER — My humble duty remembred the bearer hereof beeing Sonne to Passaconoway is in debted vnto m^r Vane. three skines w^h hee desighreth to pay but hee is affread to come to pay them by reason y^t the Sagamō of Aguawam serteffieth him y^t if hee come in to the bay you will take away his head hee hath desighred mee to write in his bee halffe y^t hee may come & pay his debts & likewise y^t you would bee pleased to bid him welcome & soe desighring y^e lord to blesse you & yours I humbly rest

Your worship^e to comnd

to his poure WILLI. HILTON

Ser this beearer desighreth mee to serteuffyie in his beehalffe y^t the Eanglish haue awais bin verry welcome vnto him I am able to testeffie y^t hee hath euer since I knew him bin a verry loving Indean.

To y^e Right worth JOHN WINTHROP esquire
Gouerñ of the Masachsets giue these.

William Hilton, the writer of these letters, came from London to Plymouth in New England in the "Fortune," November 11, 1621. His wife and two children followed in the "Anne," July or August, 1623, and in "a little tyme following" their arrival, he settled on the Piscataqua River with Mr. Edward Hilton, they being "the first English planters there." For a further account of him, see the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for April, 1877 (XXXI. 179), and January, 1882 (XXXVI. 40).

The Hon. William W. Crapo, of New Bedford, was elected a Resident Member.

Incidental remarks were made during the meeting by the Hon. EDWARD L. PIERCE and the Hon. WILLIAM EVERETT.